

## Message Text

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TO USNMR SHAPE

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EXDIS - MILITARY ADDEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

PERSONAL FOR GENERAL SEITH, USNMR SHAPE, FROM AMBASSADOR BRUCE.

FOLL REPEAT USNATO 1602 ACTION SECSTATE 23 MAR 75:

QUOTE-

S E C R E T USNATO 1602

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DEPT PASS USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE FOR INFO

PERSONAL FOR GENERAL SEITH, USNMR SHAPE, FROM AMBASSADOR BRUCE

FOL TEL SENT (DTG Z O 221945Z MAR 75) SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH,  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE, AMCONGEN JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE,  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN, REPEATED TO YOU FOR INFO, QUOTE

S E C R E T USNATO 1602

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: DISCUSSIONS AT NATO ON PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS

JERUSALEM PLEASE PASS SECRETARY(S PARTY  
FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM BRUCE  
REF: USNATO 1596

BEGIN SUMMARY: PERMREPS/CHARGES OF THIRTEEN NATO ALLIES (PORTUGAL NOT INVITED; LUSEMBOURG NOT REPRESENTED) MET IN HIGHLY RESTRICTED FORMAT IN SYG'S OFFICE AFTERNOON OF MARCH 22 TO DISCUSS LATEST PORTUGUESE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. ALLIES, AFTER FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AGREED A) ON NO SPECIFIC ACTION AT THIS POINT BUT RATHER THAT ALL OPTIONS REMAINED OPEN, B) TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED ON WHAT ANY OF THEM ARE DOING ON THESE MATTERS, AND C) TO MEET AGAIN IN THE SAME FORMAT AT 1030, SUNDAY, MARCH 23, FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL NATO COUNTRIES EXCEPT PORTUGAL AND LUXEMBOURG WERE PRESENT. ABSENT WERE THE AMBASSADOR OF FRG, U.K., NORWAY AND DENMARK WHO WERE REPRESENTED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.

2. SYG OPENED THE PROCEEDINGS BY SPEAKING OF CONCERNS OVER EVENTS IN PORTUGAL. COMMENT: HE DID NOT REFER TO THE MORNIG MEETING OF SELECTED ALLIED BUT HE RECOUNTED THE THOUGHTS EXPRESSED TO HIM EARLIER TODAY OS HIS OWN. END COMMENT. LUNS SAID THAT HE HAD CONVOKED THE PRESENT MEETING IN RDER TO ASCERTAIN THE VIEWS OF PERMREPS ON HOW NATO MIGHT BE HELPFUL AT THIS JUNCTURE.

3. DE STAERCKE (BELIGUM) STATED HE DID NOT BELIVE ON BALANCE THAT INVOLVING THE ALLIES DIPLOMATICALLY WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THIS AFFAIR AT THIS TIME WOULD BE USEFUL. HE NOTED ON TED ON THE OTHER HAND THAT TALKING TO THE SOVIETS ABOUT PORTUGAL COULD POSSIBLE HAVE A BEARING ON DETENTE AND EVEN INFULUENCE DECISIONS ON CSCE. IF SUCH CONVERSATIONS TOOK PLACE WITH THE SOVIETS, THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE HANDLED WITH GREAT CAUTION AND TACT,. DE STAERCKE WAS STONGLY AGAINST ANY ACTION OR UTTERANCE WHICH MIGHT GIVE A PRETEXT FOR THE POTRUGUESE TO ALLEGE THERE WAS ATTEMPTED FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. NEVERTHELESS, THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR SAID, THIS CAVEAT DID NOT APPLY TO ANY DECLARATION ALLIES MIGHT MAKE IN FAVOR OF FREE ELECTIONS. HE ALLUDED TO  
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THE INTEREST WHICH SOME EUROPEAN SOCILALIST PARTIES HAVE EXPRESSED IN THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL.

4. CATALANO (ITALY) SAID ANY NEW ACTION OR STATEMENT THAT MIGHT BE CONSTRUED AS AN INTERVENTION IN COMESTIC AFFAIRS IN PORTUGAL IS LIKELY TO BE A "VOMMERANG." HE SAID IN ROME, THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN CALLED IN LAST NIGHT TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE TO BE TOLD HOW GRAVELY THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT VIEWED WHAT

WAS POLITICALLY TAKING PLACE IN PORTUGAL.

5. DE ROSE (FRANCE) AGREED WITH THE VIEWS OF DE STAERCKE. HE EVINced THE PERSONAL OPINION THAT THE USSR WOULD PROBABLY UNDERSTAND THE EFFECTS ANY OVERT ACTION ON THEIR PART WOULD BE LIKELY TO HAVE ON DETENTE. HE DID NOT OFFER ANY SUGGESTION AS TO HOW THIS MIGHT BE BROUGHT TO THEIR ATTENTION.

6. THE SYG DECLARED THAT NATO SHOULD REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH THIS SITUATION AS IT DEVELOPED AND SHOULD BE KEPT THOROUGHLY INFORMED OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS WERE DOING. HE CALLED UPON THE GERMAN CHARGE (BOSS) FOR A RESUME OF FRG INFORMATION ON RECENT PORTUGUESE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS (I.E., WHAT BOSS HAD TOLD US IN THE MORNING MEETING). BOSS SAID HIS REPORT WAS BASED UPON A PORTUGUESE SOURCE ON WHICH THE FRG PLACED GREAT RELIANCE. THE INFORMATION HE RELATED TO THE LARGER GROUP DEALT ALMOST ENTIRELY WITH POTENTIAL PORTUGUESE CABINET CHANGES.

7. BRUCE ASKED DE ROSE WHETHER PRESIDENT GISCARD HAD RECEIVED ANY MESSAGE FROM CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT LAST NIGHT. THE ANSWER WAS HE DID NOT KNOW BUT HE INTENDED SHORTLY TO TELEPHONE PARIS AND WOULD REPORT BACK TO OUR MEETING ANYTHING HE LEARNED FROM THE QUAL.

8. NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR HARTOGH CONTRIBUTED NOTHING SUBSTANTIAL BUT SPOKE OF THE LABOR PARTY CONCERN IN HIS COUNTRY OVER WHAT WAS TAKING PLACE TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN PORTUGAL. TURKISH AMBASSADOR ERALP OBSERVED QUOTING FROM WHAT THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR TO NATO HAD SAID TO HIM, THAT ANY FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN CONNECTION WITH POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL WOULD BE UNPRODUCTIVE. THE GREEK AMBASSADOR FELT THAT VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES IN EUROPE, ESPECIALLY SOCIALISTS, SHOULD EXPRESS THEIR CONCERN OVER THE SITUATION.

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9. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR MENZIES WAS AGAINST ANY ALLIES ACTION TOUCHING ON THE SUBJECT OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE PORTUGUESE CABINET. HE SAID THERE WERE FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND PORTUGUESE IN CANADA AND ALTHOUGH THEY WERE NOT POLITICALLY UNITED, THEY WERE RESTIVE ABOUT CONDITIONS IN THEIR HOMELAND AND WERE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS WITH CLOSE ATTENTION AND APPREHENSION. HE CAUTIONED ABOUT LINKING THE THIRD STAGE OF CSCE WITH EVENTS IN PORTUGAL, BUT DID NOT FURTHER DEVELOP HIS VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT.

10. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAID THERE WERE ONE MILLION PORTUGUESE WORKING IN FRANCE AND, AS IN CANADA, THEIR CURRENCY REMITTANCES WERE IMPORTANT TO THE ECONOMY IN PORTUGAL. SEVERAL ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES COMMENTED ON INFORMATION THEY HAD RECEIVED ABOUT GRAVE DETERIORATION IN THE ECONOMY AND FINANCES OF PORTUGAL. IT

WAS EXPECTED LISBON WOULD TOTALLY EXHAUST CURRENCY RESERVES IN A MATTER OF MONTHS.

1. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, WHO HAD ABSENTED HIMSELF FOR A FEW MINUTES TO TALK TO PARIS ON THE TELEPHONE, CAME BACK TO REPORT THAT HE COULD NOT ASCERTAIN FROM THE OFFICER WITH WHOM HE HAD CONVERSED WHETHER OR NOT GISCARD HAD HEARD FROM CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. COMMENT: AFTER THE MEETING, DE ROSE SAID TO BRUCE PRIVATELY THAT IF BRUCE LEARNED BEFORE TOMORROW MORNING THAT U.S. HAD CALLED IN DOBRYNIN TO THE DEPARTMENT DE ROSE HOPED HE COULD BE INFORMED OF IT. DE ROSE HOPED HE COULD COMMUNICATE ANY REPORT ON THIS TO CHIRAC IN MOSCOW BEFORE CHIRAC'S DEPARTURE FROM THE SOVIET UNION ON MONDAY. END COMMENT.

12. THE NORWEGIAN CHARGE (SELMAR) SPOKE OF THE PREVAILING SYMPATHY, ESPECIALLY WITHIN THE GOVERNING SOCIALIST PARTY, FOR THE PLIGHT OF SOARES AND SOCIALISTS IN LISBON.

13. U.K. CHARGE LOGAN SUMMARIZED THE COMMUNICATION FROM SCHMIDT TO WILSON (AND HIS OTHER COMMENTS MADE IN OUR MORNING MEETING) BUT ADDED A READING OF A STATEMENT MADE BY VCALLAGHAN IN FEBRUARY TO KOSYGIN. LOGAN SAID THIS TEXT STILL FAITHFULLY REPRESENTED BRITISH POLICY. AFTER MEETING, LOGAN PROVIDED US WITH FOLLOWING EXCERPT FROM HIS INSTRUCTIONS WHICH HE SAID CLOSELY FOLLOWED HIS FONSEC'S LINE WITH KOSYGIN:

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THE LINE TO TAKE IN ANY REPRESENTATIONS (WHETHER TO THE SOVIETS OR TO THE PORTUGUESE) MIGHT BE THAT ANY ATTEMPT BY THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT OR PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST AND THEIR ALLIES TO CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH VIEWS OF THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE WERE BEING IGNORED OR WOULD NOT BE FREELY EXPRESSED WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL BOTH TO PORTUGUESE INTERESTS AND TO THE PROSPECTS

FOR DETENTE IN EUROPE. (I SPOKE IN THIS VEIN TO DOSYGIN ON 14 FEBRUARY). ACCORDINGLY, WE WANT TO ENLIST THEIR HELP IN ENSURING THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL REMAINS BALANCED AND STABLE, SO THAT THE LEADERS CAN JUDGE AND REACT TO THE VIEWS OF THE PEOPLE FREELY EXPRESSED IN ELECTIONS ON 25 APRIL. END TEXT.

13. BRUCE REPEATED AT THE SYG'S REQUEST SOME OF THE THINGS HE HAD STATED THIS MORNING, GEARING IN MIND THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE MORNING MEETING THE OTHER MEMBERS WERE UNAWARE HE HAD USED THESE INSTRUCTIONS EARLIER.

14 IT WAS GENERALLY THOUGHT ONE OF THE MOST USEFUL THINGS NATO COUNTRIES COULD DO GOVERNMENTALLY, JOURNALISTICALLY, AND OTHERWISE WAS TO KEEP EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO FREE ELECTIONS IN PORTUGAL.

15. IN SUMMING UP, THE SYG SAID HE SENSED THAT ALL MEMBERS PRESENT BELIEVED THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL SHOULD BE CLOSELY STUDIED AND FOLLOWED, BUT THAT NO PUBLIC ACTION OR ADVICE TO GOVERNMENTS OTHER THAN THOSE OUTLINED IN THIS TELEGRAM SHOULD BE TAKEN. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD MEMBERS LET IT BE KNOWN THAT THIS MEETING HAD TAKEN PLACE, AND THIS SHOULD APPLY TO SUBSEQUENT MEETING ON THIS AFFAIR.

16. BRUCE ASKED IF HE WAS CORRECT IN ASSUMING THAT, FIRST, ALL OPTIONS REMAINED OPEN AS FAR AS NATO MEMBERS WERE CONCERNED AND, SECOND, THAT THE NATO MEMBERS EXPECTED THROUGH CONSULTATION TO BE KEPT CURRENTLY INFORMED OF WHAT ANY OF THEM ARE DOING ON THESE MATTERS IN BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS OR OTHERWISE. SINCE MOST OF THOSE PRESENTLY HAD ALREADY EXPRESSED THEMSELVES IN THIS SENSE IT WAS AGREED THAT SUCH A SUMMATION CLEARLY REFLECTED THE ATTITUDE OF THE PERMREPS.

17. THE PROBABLY SUBJECTS OF DISCUSSION TOMORROW ARE DEALT WITH  
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